

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 156029

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT:NAMIBIA: NEXT STEPS

REF: (A) CAPE TOWN 1214, (B) USUN 2537, (C) USUN 2538

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1. DEPARTMENT FAVORS SCENARIO PROPOSED REF (A) AND URGES
CONTACT GROUP ACCEPTANCE OF APPROACH FIRST TO BOTHA, ALONG
LINES SUGGESTED REF (B), FOLLOWED BY APPROACH TO NYERERE.

2. FOLLOWING ARE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON TALKING POINTS
REF (B), BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT INITIAL APPROACH WILL BE

MADE TO BOTH.

A.) THIRD PARA, SENTENCE BEGINNING, "AS YOU KNOW, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS..." WE BELIEVE, FOR SAKE OF PRECISION THAT THIS TALKING POINT SHOULD INCLUDE LANGUAGE FROM THE LUANDA COMMUNIQUE, FOLLOWED BY NYERERE'S EXPLANATION TO THE FIVE OF HOW THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE INTERPRETED. SUGGEST ALTERING THAT PORTION OF THIRD PARA AS FOLLOWS: "AS YOU KNOW, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, IN THE COMMUNIQUE RESULTING FROM THEIR JUNE 11-12 MEETING WITH SWAPO IN LUANDA, EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT FOR PLACING RESIDUAL SOUTH

AFRICAN FORCES IN CONDITIONS WHICH PREVENT THEM FROM BEING USED AS A MEANS OF INTIMIDATION AND REPRESSION AGAINST THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND FOR AGGRESSION AGAINST NEIGHBORING STATES. AS WE EXPLAINED WHEN LAST WE MET, PRESIDENT NYERERE HAS INFORMED US THAT THIS REFERS TO THE SUPPORT OF THE FRONT LINE STATES FOR SWAPO'S POSITION THAT RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES BE RESTRICTED TO ONE OR TWO LOCATIONS SOUTH OF WINDHOEK." PARA WOULD THEN CONTINUE WITH SENTENCE BEGINNING, "WE RECOGNIZE THE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES..."

B.) THIRD PARA, SENTENCE BEGINNING, "IT SEEMS TO US ON THE OTHER HAND," AND REMAINDER OF PARA. PARTICULARLY SINCE WE ARE ASKING SAG FOR ANOTHER CONCESSION, THIS PORTION OF THE TALKING POINT SEEMS TOO SUPPORTIVE OF SOUTH CONFIDENTIAL

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AFRICAN COMPLAINT THAT THE FIVE NEVER NOTICE THE RESPONSIBLE ACTIONS WHICH SAG HAS TAKEN ON NAMIBIA. POINTS MADE IN THIRD PARA NEED TO BE EMPHASIZED BUT WE BELIEVE THEY COULD USEFULLY BE TEMPERED (THOUGH BALANCE SHOULD REMAIN CLEARLY NEGATIVE) BY BRIEF BOW TO SAG FOR THEIR RELEASE OF FOUR PERSONS DETAINED UNDER A.G. 26 AND FOR STEYN'S RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT OF EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL QUALIFICATIONS AND WORK.

C.) FOURTH PARA, SENTENCE BEGINNING, "WE HAVE AS A FIRST STEP." USE OF PHRASE, "AS A FIRST STEP" WILL RECALL TO SOUTH AFRICANS THEIR FEAR THAT CG INTENDS TO SUBJECT THEM TO SALAMI TACTICS. IT CARRIES WITH IT SUGGESTION THAT WE MAY RETURN FOR FURTHER SAG CONCESSIONS IF THE "MINOR ADJUSTMENT" WE ARE SUGGESTING FAILS TO SATISFY SWAPO AND THE FRONT LINE. STRONGLY SUGGEST WE AVOID THIS PROBLEM BY DELETING "AS A FIRST STEP." REMAINDER OF SENTENCE COULD BE USED AS IS.

D.) REF C RAISES QUESTION OF POSSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN DEMAND THAT THIS BE THE LAST CONCESSION REQUIRED OF THEM AND SOME INDICATION OF THE POSITION OF THE FIVE IF SWAPO

SHOULD STILL FIND THE PROPOSAL, INCLUDING A SOUTH AFRICAN UNDERTAKING NOT TO STATION TROOPS AT OSHIVELLO, TO BE INADEQUATE. HOWEVER, THE MATTER IS NOT DEALT WITH IN TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH BOTHA (REF B). IT MAY NOT BE WISE TO PLACE LIMITS ON THE NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH IT IS IS LEGITIMATE TO ASK HOW MUCH LONGER WE INTEND THAT THE

PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION SHOULD CONTINUE BEFORE WE GIVE THE PARTIES A FIRM INDICATION THAT THE BOTTOM LINE HAS BEEN REACHED. THIS IS A SUBJECT FOR THE DECISION OF THE FIVE BUT WE FEEL THAT IT MAY BE RAISED BY BOTHA AND THAT A CONTINGENCY TALKING POINT SHOULD BE INSERTED AS FOLLOWS: "OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS WOULD REGRET IF ONE OF THE PARTIES SHOULD FIND THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL TO BE UNACCEPTABLE
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AFTER SO LONG AND ARDUOUS A PERIOD OF NEGOTIATION. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCE THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD CONTINUE TO STAND BY THE PROPOSAL, WHICH WE STILL BELIEVE TO OFFER A FAIR AND BALANCED MEANS TO TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN NAMIBIA. WE HOPE THAT THE UNDERTAKING WHICH WE HAVE REQUESTED OF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD SATISFY SWAPO'S REMAINING CONCERN BUT SHOULD THIS NOT BE THE CASE, AND ASSUMING NO FURTHER ACTIONS BY SOUTH AFRICA INCONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE PROPOSAL, WE WOULD NOT BE WILLING TO ALTER THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSAL TO MEET ANY FURTHER OBJECTIONS WHICH SWAPO MIGHT HAVE ABSENT CONCURRENCE BY ALL PARTIES." IN THE EVENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD AGREE TO THE NON-USE OF OSHIVELLO, A SIMILAR POINT WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE WITH NYERERE.

3. DEPARTMENT WILL MAKE NO COMMENT ON THE DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH NYERERE PENDING THE RESULTS OF THE CONTACT WITH BOTHA. VANCE

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